I: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

This lax system of land ownership and use was perfectly feasible before the reservation era because Araucanía contained more than enough space for all its inhabitants, the soil was fertile and well watered, and there was a great abundance of natural foods. A bewildering situation developed when, after 1866, the Mapuche were forced to bring their traditional practices into conformity with Chilean law. So-called chiefs found it impossible to prove their legal rights to ownership and authority over land, and ordinary tribesmen could not validate their claims to the particular plots that they customarily cultivated. When the government officials who were charged with the responsibility of marking off reservations found themselves faced with one perplexing problem after another, they were forced to adopt a technique of assigning titles more or less arbitrarily. In each instance they made inquiries to determine the individual who seemed to be the leader or headman of a local group and the extent of his domain. They then gave the tract a number and sometimes a name, marked off official boundary lines, and issued a map of the holdings together with a *título de merced*, to the supposed chief (see Fig. 5). In this way a great number of collective land holdings, known as reserves or reductions, came to be established throughout the Frontera after 1866; and one can imagine that a man occasionally found himself unexpectedly elevated to the position of cacique.* This situation could hardly have been avoided. No one knows what was the exact nature of chieftainship among the early historic Araucanians, and it is not improbable that some groups of natives could not tell who was chief among them. In certain cases, too, informants intimate that *sly commoners* took advantage of the confused situation to represent themselves as chiefs in order to acquire titles to land (see Fig. 7).

New difficulties, in addition to those inherent in the state of affairs just described, arose when the time came to subdivide the reductions in order to allot land in severalty. Foremost of these was the perplexing fact that few individuals had distinc-

* It should be noted that the Mapuche word for headman is *lonko*, and that the term "cacique" is a Spanish introduction.

I: Tiller E-5 (1968) 1951 SC4 Araucanians SC4
Mapuche-Huilliche

tive names. According to Mapuche custom only surnames were used, and these were generally shared by several members of a kin group. Realizing what a puzzle it would make if they allowed titles to numerous Antipans and Huentecols without further identification, government workers urged the Indians to adopt more distinctive names, whereupon the Araucanians promptly took such appellations as struck their fancy. Many assumed the names of the surveyors and officials who were working among them, some added Spanish given names to their native names, and others simply invented appellations at random.

As has been the case in other areas of the world, the allotment system in Chile did not work out smoothly with the passage of time. No matter how adequate and equable the original grants may have been, serious inequalities arose through the operation of inheritance customs and increase of population. For example, when the reduction of Cautinchu was originally established in 1889, it consisted of 176 hectares, designed for the use of forty-four persons. In 1948, 101 people were living on the original tract.

Sometimes, too, a man found himself heir to several small parcels of land scattered over a number of reservations, no one of them large enough to sustain his family. The usual custom in such cases was to sell the odd lots for cash, and to go on a spree while the money lasted. Owners of private estates in the vicinity of Indian reductions are generally on the lookout to extend their holdings by buying up small pieces of property as they become available.*

The practice of granting titles to ownership also became a source of trouble because, in spite of protective clauses, it enabled individual natives to sell their property to land sharks or liquor dealers. Men who became landless generally sought work in cities, moved to Argentina to become shepherds, or hired themselves out as laborers to more fortunate villagers or to

* Even those to whom titles were complete then, in addition to legitimate purchasers, were unscrupulous landlords under a pretense of securing their farms avoid legal formalities in order to accumulate Indian land.

I. Tribes E-6 (1968) 1951 SC4 Accessions SC4
Maguche-Shoshiche

Kinship terms are widely employed for direct address in ordinary social intercourse. Whenever a specific relationship exists between speakers, teknonymy is utilized. If there is no close relationship, terms of address are used as listed in Table I.

Apwaruken kinship terminology recognizes only five generations, two above and two below ego. If it is found necessary to extend terms to higher or lower generations, the Maguche do not use new words, but employ numerical prefixes as needed.

GOI [55]

TABLE I

Terms of Direct Address

Male Speaker	Person Addressed	Female Speaker
Ñakenchen	Very old man	*chachal*
Awangpal	Very old woman	*Ache*
Ache or *chachal*	Older man than ego	*Ache*
pagel[1]	Older woman than ego	*pagel*
Peñi	Man of ego's age	*Lamien*
Lamien	Woman of ego's age	*Lamien*
Ñuke or *Ñukeñ*	Younger man	*weke*
Lamien	Younger woman	*peñi*
Ñukeñen	Very young man	*chachañe*
Lamienen	Very young woman	*Ñukeñe*

For instance, a man calls his paternal grandfather *Ache*. Hence, great-grandfather is *epuchi* ("twice") *Ache*, great-

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cousin, *Ñukeñe*, and *Ñuke* is taken to indicate his actual father-in-law, whereas *weke* signifies only that of his mother's brothers or paternal fathers-in-law; and *Peñi*, a term of affection used by a woman toward a female father's sister's son, whereas other cross-relatives of this kind are generally called either *Ñukeñ* ("Mother") or *Lamien* ("sister").

[1] Terms of direct address are almost invariably preceded by the Maguche greeting, "*Mari, mari*," which means "two, two," and has the connotation of a hundred greetings or welcomes.

There are so many situational usages possible for terms of direct address that the data given in Table I require confirmation and further study.

[2] *Pagel* is the most common (apparent) term of direct address used by either sex when speaking to an adult woman.

2: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1949 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

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inche ta eimi
deumun pinhe
feete ini ayuñel
kimvo laimi piyael
fei - ula doi ayueyu
falen mew felpien
eimi ta eskis dumo.

[551] Free translation.--It is not so, my dear papai (literally, "mother," but used as a courteous or affectionate term of direct address by any man speaking to a mature woman). No matter what you say, I'll never hurt your feelings. My heart beats (deuman, literally, "is self-made" or "manufactured") only for you. You don't know what you are saying, because I love you very much. You are my dearest woman.

Woman's Song No. 2

tregul peumun
kuifi mew kai
welu fole puimi
aiko pilelen.

Free translation.--I dreamed of a layewing[1] a long time ago, and now I am like a hen under the wing of a rooster.

539 833 Interpretation.--In explaining this song my informant said that it is of the type sung by a young wife to call attention to the fact that her husband is sexually overactive. On hearing such a complaint, her relatives and friends try to advise her spouse to moderate his marital behavior. Sometimes a group of elderly men will arrange to meet the husband in private, without the wife's knowledge, in order to give him the benefit of their experience. Among other things they may tell the husband not to seek sexual satisfaction daily and to abstain from intercourse for at least twelve hours after a meal.

[1] Fray Félix José de Augusta [illegible] (Santiago, 1916), II, 230) identifies the tregle bird as Vanellus chilensis, the Chilean lapwing. As Collin described it, however, it was somewhat reminiscent of the European curlew, in that he claimed it was noisy, frequented muddy places, and had no nest of its own, but laid eggs anywhere.

4:Latcham F-5 (1888-1893) 1909 SO4 Araucanians SO4

compañerismo friend. At the end of this time she bathed again, and returned to her own home, where all her relatives and friends were assembled to celebrate a feast in honour of the babe. These customs are at present considerably modified, and the birth takes place in the room itself. The mother takes up a kneeling posture during labour, holding on by a thong fastened to a post. She is attended by her friends, and a midwife (*ajentuve*) assists at the birth. The men remain outside the hut and receive with laughter and coarse jokes the complaints of the sufferer and the cries of the newly born. After the birth both mother and babe are bathed.

The baptism and naming of the child take place shortly afterwards. Some friend of the father offers himself as godfather (*lawe*), and requests that the babe, if it be a boy, may bear his name, the celebration feast being at his expense. Among other presents he provides a sheep, with the blood of which crosses are made on the forehead and temples of the child. This is an innovation of Christian origin, and dates from the time of the Spanish occupation. In the neighbourhood of the towns and missions the children frequently receive a Christian baptism, and take as names the most common of the calendar, their father's name passing as a surname.

A man does not cohabit with his wife after childbirth till the child is weaned, which does not take place till it has cut all its teeth.

When a man dies his eldest son inherits his wives, together with his other property, and from that moment takes them to wife himself, save only his mother, who receives her freedom and may marry again. If he leaves no son, his eldest brother inherits and acquires the same rights. Sometimes the wives are distributed among all the brothers of the deceased in order of priority of marriage, the first married to the eldest brother, etc., or they can recover their liberty on paying to the heir the price they cost.

Totemism.—Although totemism is not a religion among this race at the present day, there is reason to suppose that it was [illegible] at no late period.

The probability of exogamous marriage customs having formerly existed has already been referred to.

The custom, at one time universal, of giving children the names of animals, birds, or inanimate objects seems to indicate that these names might have belonged to the clan totem, especially as even recently it was no uncommon thing to find numerous persons in the same family group with the same name, only modified by some distinguishing adjective, as *Relmuf*, tiger; *Relmuñelu*, red tiger; *Relmuwigun*, limping tiger; *Lemu*, treasure; *Mawidun*, two treasures; *Lemuñanu*, treasure's head; *Pilu*, snake; *Quelcolla*, three snakes; *Colcolla*, red snakes, etc., etc. These names have gradually changed into surnames, owing to the custom of giving the children other names at baptism.

The Araucanos believe they originally descended from the animals whose names they bear, but have no clear idea as to whether this descent was on their mother's or on their father's side, although most of them believe in the former

§ Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4

Each kraja had its own name, such as sky, sun, pillán (cf. infra under Religion, p. 747), stone, grave, khaw pukón, sea or lake, gold, bird of prey, eagle, river, water, duck, dove, tiger, puma, Snake, condor, snake, mountain ridge, house, foot, lion, etc., to enumerate some of them in their order of frequency in the early documents as calculated by Latcham (1922 b, p. 311). Male children shortly after birth were usually given a name compounded of the kraja name, and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, more commonly prefixed to the kraja name. The father gave the name in most cases in the following manner: If, e.g., he were of the Zorra kraja, he would call his son according to circumstances, "white Zorra," "black Zorra," "running Zorra," "woodland sheds" (where Zorras rest in summer), etc. (Hervas-mith, 1803, 2:64). 611 553 551

According to Hervasmith (1803, 2:64), sons derived their kraja names from their father's kraja. Félix José (1907, p. 6) states that in old baptismal registers son and father often have different names, but adds that in the family names of the two one notes the same stirps [=kraja]. Latcham, however, (1927 b, pp. 335-33) states that his own comparisons of names of men and their sons appearing in published and unpublished sources show disagreement in the kraja element of the names; whence he concluded that sons must have derived their names from their mother's kraja. According to Carvallo i Goyenechea (1875, p. 138), the first-born son was given his grandfather's name. This problem of paternal versus maternal derivation of the kraja name needs further study from the published and unpublished sources. Félix José (1907, p. 80) and Guevara Silva (1908, 1:360) affirm that women did not have the family name in their names. (Cf. Rosales, 1877-91, 1:166; Hervasmith, 1803, 2:64)—neither very clear on this point.) 611 551

Members of a given kraja had particular regard for and loyalty to one another, and aided with and aided one another in quarrels and other affairs.

The relation of the kraja eponym to the kraja members is not clear. According to Rosales (1877-91, 1:6), many "Huaqui" had the names of whales, etc., from carnal commerce of people turned into whales, etc., at the time of the mythical deluge, with women gathering seafood. According to Pelleter, the eponym was believed to "preside over one particular sept or family of Indians, of which he is supposed to have been the creator," and at death the souls of the members of the sept went to live with its eponym (1865, p. 114).

Kinship behavior.—On specific rights, obligations, and forms of behavior among members of kinship groups, our sources give only meager details. (Cf. supra under Marriage and Family and infra under Life Cycle.) One point stands out: The relationship, accord- 602

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hunt, in more recent times at least, a white lamb was sacrificed, some of the blood sprinkled in the four cardinal directions, and the rest poured into a hole in the ground where the severed umbilical cord was deposited. South of Tabiki, a tree was planted at the same-giving feast of a male child. The name of a female child could not be mentioned but she die. (On huge cotton, see supra under Khaldjy, p. 732.)

Two types of cradle were used (fig. 76): a portable one, of two longitudinal arms connected with laterals or also a netted frame, with bow; and a swinging "hammock" type (illustrated in: Smith, 1844, p. 313; Lambert, 1909, pls. 34-35; cf. Monbeck, 1938, pp. 130-48 for descriptions).

FIGURE 76.—Hispanic cradles. (After Smith, 1844, p. 314.)

After childbirth, cohabitation of husband with wife was not resumed until weaning, which did not take place until the child's teeth were out (Lambert, 1909, p. 260), or until a year after birth or, if the child was weak, 18 months or more (Claude Joseph, 1929-46, p. 712).

Both abortion and infanticide occurred, but how commonly is not clear. Gumilla (1925, passim) lists about a dozen different plant abortifacients. Deformed offspring and one of twins were done away with, by being thrown into the water or suffocated with sand (Guevara Silva, 1928, I:241-42; 1938, p. 332). Félix José (1918, I:81) lists the verb *kalibna*, meaning to kill an infant and roast its testicles in a heated pot, an abuse sometimes by an unmarried mother to avenge herself on her unfaithful lover—or making him impotent (Guevara Silva, 1928, p. 332; 1938, I:242). The present writer has come across no specific mention of cannibalistic practices, apparently in recent

1:Cooper E-4 (no date) 1946 SG4 Araucanians SG4
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bing their bodies to disease (D'Orbigny, 1836-47, 2:238; Cox, 1863, p. 176). Tobacco smoking was largely a secular practice, at least after the early 19th century (D'Orbigny, 1836-47, 2:241); the smoke was often swallowed so as to produce intoxication (Guinnard, 1864, pp. 149-50; Cox, 1863, p. 82; Manzilla, 1877, 2:48; *cf.* Falkner, 1935, p. 81), a custom, however, not entirely unknown among the Chilean *Araucanians* (Guevara Silva, 1911, p. 280). 177

Some camps seen by Moreno (1879, p. 11) contained each about 10 large tables occupied by relatives and allies of the principal headman of the group. The "caciques" listed by De la Cruz (1836-37, 2:95-101) had each from 6 to 20 warriors, in one case 60, under them. 621 622

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz (1836, p. 58), the names of children, both boys and girls, consisted of the name of the father (the name of his "race," gotten from birth) plus an adjectival one bestowed by the child's "padrino." Among Cox's *Pehuenche*, according to his somewhat confused and obscure account (1863, pp. 143-45), personal names consisted of two words—one of them, apparently a boys name, such as "Juan," "river," "tiger," etc.—but the names of fathers and sons had nothing in common. A married woman was never called by her proper name, although an unmarried girl might be so called but not by a stranger. 551

According to Guinnard (1864, pp. 130-32), to be born with more than five fingers or toes was an omen of great good fortune for the whole family. Deformed infants were killed by hooking their bows or suffocating them, and their bodies were exposed some distance off to the wild dogs and birds of prey. Infants were placed in a basketlike cradle (*cf.* also Martenshöfer, 1911 b, p. 73); for sweep they were given, as an emetic, a mixture of pulverized urine, a kind of "alcali," and gunpowder. 826 847 857

Three or four types of first names that are reported among the Argentine *Araucanians*. 881

Among the *Pehuenche* described by De la Cruz, when the first menses appeared, the girl notified her mother, who at once segregated her in a corner of the toldo with the injunction not to lift her eyes to look upon any man. The next day the girl was taken out twice, once at early dawn and again at sunset, by two of the women and made to run swiftly a long distance. Early the third day, they made her go out and gather three bundles of firewood and place them in three separate spots. Then all the Indians were invited to the celebration of the girl's new status. (De la Cruz, 1836, p. 62; the accounts by D'Orbigny, 1836-47, 2:247-48; and Burbank, 1879, pp. 178-79, and 1880, p. 39, were taken from De la Cruz.)

In the rite described by Cox (1863, pp. 119-20) for the "*Pehuenche*" north of the upper Limay, the girl notified her mother or nearest kin, who in turn notified the head of the family, who then chose his best

8: Faron E-5 (1953) 1956 SG4 Araucanians SG4

[5] Titiev does not mention this, but does remark that teknonymy is practiced. The writer failed to find evidence of teknonymy as such, but encountered circumlocutory expressions which have a superficial resemblance to teknonymy.

[6] *Nuke* may have been a term of direct address. In later times it is transcribed *duke* and defined as a term of endearment. Among present-day Mapuche, *duke* is used affectionately in direct address. Other similar examples are the use of *chachai* and *fachai* for father, and *papai* (if used) for mother. The chroniclers' inclusion of both indirect and direct terms of address could have given rise to part of the notion that there has been great historical change in the terminology.

[7] Mariño de Lovera (1865:124) wrote ca. 1594, and the observations in his history cover the period in which the Spaniards first entered Araucanía. His observations made near Nueva Imperial serve to clarify certain points made in this paper exemplifying the social arrangements reflected in Diagram 1, i.e., endogamous settlements having either bilocal or patrilocal residence. His remarks on what has been taken to mean sororal polygyny seem to depend on the interpretation of "hermanas" and "parientas." Given the Araucanian kinship designations, there were many so-called "hermanas" who were only "cousins" subsumed under the term *lamien*. Such would not be what is ordinarily considered sororal polygyny.

[8] Mofi is sometimes called "other mother" (*ko duke*). Latcham viewed this identification largely as evidence for a matrilineal clan system, failing to tie in the relationship with marriage practices. Indeed, in working out a kinship diagram on the basis of Latcham's female-speaking terms, one is confronted with the anomaly that preferential, cross-cousin mates fall into the tabooed incest group (compare lists on pp. 85–86 and 103–111, Latcham 1924).

[9] It is noteworthy that Latcham wrote: "A fines del siglo XVIII persiste la filiación materna, al menos al sur del Toltén." This is a region to which landless Mapuche migrated and took up residence on land held by groups into which they married.

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10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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553 occasions a mother may ask to change the name of a daughter to that of a relative.

Names are very rarely changed today since they are now entered on official records, which are often consulted because of inheritance rights to property. Should an Araucanian wish to change his name, he may do so in a Chilean Government office. "The Matías family did so; its name was Calfín, a real Mapuche name. Some of the Calfín men went to Valdivia to do so; they could have done so in San José de Mariquina, also. A Mapuche who changes his name to a Chilean one does not lose his identity, however, for he and all his family are easily distinguished as Mapuche; we have a physique different from the Chilenos."

551 The origin of names was not known to informants; none had heard that they originated in dreams—unless it was the machi's—or in unusual circumstances or observations made in connection with stones, birds, or similar objects. No informant had heard that names originated in a kinship system known as the kuga (cuga, ciga, cunga; also olpa; Cooper, 1946, p. 722) or the kumpém, a naming system (Félix José, 1907, p. 38).

551 It appears that for each machi a new name is formulated, possibly
756 one that is dreamed. (See p. 112.) A machi's name is never transferred to any other person. The most noted machi in an area bestows the name on a newly created machi. The following names of deceased machi were used exclusively by one machi: By men machi, Kumilican (half red stone); Rayenlican (flower of stone); Chaipulican (?); Foiquelican (canelo stone). By women machi, Llaqkünagpai (what falls from above); Pinatrayen (hummingbird waterfall); Pinatrayen (brook of hummingbird); Llanquihuirin (lightning that strikes down); Huirinagpai (came down from above in the form of lightning).

551 All informants were agreed that within their experience names given to children were those that already existed and were nearly always those of deceased relatives. "Even today a child is rarely given a name that has not been in the relationship over a long period of time," said an Alepún man. "I gave the names to my children," said a Panguipulli man; "I named my oldest boy Lonkon after my father who had been named Lonkon after his grandfather whose name was Lonkolanco—my father dropped anco. My father never had a Christian name."

Informants listened with interest to the explanation of the kuga, a naming system that denoted or connoted kinship, and in which male children, shortly after birth, were usually given a name compounded

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of a kuga name and a qualifying adjective, numeral, or other word, 551
more commonly prefixed to the kuga name (Cooper, 1946, p. 723). Informants reasoned that if the kuga existed in the early days, it might possibly exist today in what was known to them as the kumpén, since kumpén meant a group of families related by blood ties, such as the Lienlaf in Alepún and the Tripailef in Puringue; but that not always was the given name one compounded with the name of the kumpén. "For example, in one family here [Alepún] brothers were named Huaiao, Marilaf, Manque, Penecu, Lefin, and Chowe, and their sister's name was Cumitra. The relationship name—probably the kumpén you are asking about—was Lienlaf—that is, they belonged to the Lienlaf people in this area. I know it, because I belong to the same family. These families go way back to the time before we fought the Spanish. Today the names of these six brothers are surnames. The children of each use their father's Mapuche name as their surname. The brothers have all been baptized, and when they sign their names now, they write their baptismal name first and add to it their Mapuche given name, but not Lienlaf."

For 700 families in Panguipulli area, on the contrary, names contain the word pan, an abbreviation of pangi (lion). Among them are the Kuripán (black lion), the Licanpán (light of sun lion), the Aillapán (nine lions), the Küllapán (three lions). The names of another group of related families, also in Pangulpulli area, end in llaqhu (blue stone with magic). "My grandfather's name ended in llaqhu. So did three of his cousins whose names were Wenullaqhu (power from above blue stone with magic), Meillaqhu (four blue stones with magic), and Rayenllaqhu (flower blue stone with magic). Félix José (1907, p. 30) lists as members of the kumpén of llaqhu, which he translates as finely colored head, such names as Chiwillaqhu (foggy finely colored head), Purrullaqhu (spotted finely colored head), Ankall (proud finely colored head), Kuñil (finely colored head that warms), and Maillañ (finely colored head of condor). Informants believed the last three to have ended at one time in llaqhu, also. (Cf. also kuga, under "Marriage," p. 129.)

A non-Araucanian interpreter of Pangulpulli was bewildered at the information regarding the kumpén. She had often attempted to trace names in baptismal records for adult Araucanians who needed an official statement of their ancestry in order to lay claim to land. Quoting her: "It is impossible to do so. There is no similarity between the names of parents, grandparents, or other relatives to indicate that they are related to the child, or even to each other." A 70-year-old Collaripe man was certain that similarity in names had nothing to do

10: Hilger E-5 (1946-1952) 1957
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with the kumpán. "Elue, why was my father's father's name Nahuelco, my father's name Wilkelmuco, and my name Pailiñelhue?"

Feminine names are distinctly different from masculine. Neither prefixes nor suffixes indicate gender. Women's names have no relationship to the kumpán. Some names, both feminine and masculine, lend themselves to translation; others do not. Feminine names that have meanings are Llanquiral (witchcraft stone with flower), Lefuñi (running), Pinolu (hummingbird), Huaiñuipán (anchored lion). Feminine names that do not lend themselves to translation are Pedumei, Llelliñi, Pinolcu'a. "Clearly, anyone seeing these names will know that they are feminine names; they have the sense of femininity in them." According to Cooper's sources (1946, p. 728), the name of a female child could not be mentioned lest it die. Informants of the present study had not heard of this custom.

The following names are those of parents of the first to persons baptized at Misión de Panguipulli in 1903 and whose names are recorded in its Libro de Bautismos de Indígenas (Anonymous, 1930, vol. 1, pp. 1-3). The first name in each pair is the father's; the second, the mother's: Huichaman and Calfucun; Aburto and Nahuel; Calfcura and Ayllapán; Huillipan and Manquil; Lefiñan and Huenteuh; Lefiñan and Huenteuh; Melupán and Nahuel; Trutrui and Ancalen; Trutrui and Puelpan; Ancalen and Nahuipir. The following pairs of given names (surnames omitted) are those of the parents of the last to children baptized in 1947: Huaille and Huenchuncu; Santibañez and Ailliapán; Llancapangu and Lonfuman; Antileo and Pichiñel; Nauncuyu and Ancalí; Caupolicán and Calbur; Huaiquipán and Calupán; Trafiñanco and Mañanco; Collipán and Canucul; Ancanao and Canucul. It is interesting to note that each parent has an Araucanian name recorded as a surname; in 1903 no parent had a surname. Nearly all the given names of parents are Araucanian; those of children are Christian.

SURNAMES

As noted previously, Araucanians had no surnames in the early days. Surnames were introduced by the Capuchin Fathers in order to make baptismal records permanent files to which Araucanians could refer in later years. The Fathers were certain that in due time the Araucanians would come under Chilean law regarding land and inheritance and that accurate information as to dates of births and to parentage would then be essential. This has proved to be true.

In more recent years, too, teachers have had to give surnames of

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schoolchildren in order to fill in reports demanded by the Chilean department of education. The following given names of men are today surnames of school children in Pangipulli and Coñaripe areas. Meanings follow. If names had themselves to translation—some cannot be translated "any more than you can translate John or Joseph." Calfilikeule (blue gulls), Pelilumun, Canio, Canimun (? snow), Calfilagun (blue fox), Huaiten, Huaiche, Huaquilito (herd of snakes), Carrillo (sitting snakes), Nenquillo (running snakes), Huyfiul, Curifiul, Huaiquipulo (leave of the fox), Marillo (ten snakes), Maripulo (ten lions), Maulipulo, Marilumu (ten guanacos), Calfilumu (guanacos), Nenequipulo (eagle lion), Nanculaf, Pelilumu, Pelilefumun (the back of the eagle). 551

At present schoolchildren and adults frequently follow the Spanish custom of including the mother's name in their surname, as do Chileans.

NICKNAMES

A nickname (kiñeluchun) is attached to an individual because of an atypical physical trait, a unique similarity to something, or an unusual or amusing event associated with the individual. Nicknames today are both Araucanian and Spanish. Quoting informants: "A boy who lived near us had a hernia; so I nicknamed him Mañil (hernia), something he resented. That was when we were boys. Maybe I was punished, for now that I am married one of my children was born with a hernia and cleft palate." "My father gave me the nickname Kuiñe (old woman)," said a two-age girl; "he said I acted like my grandmother."

Teachers told of nicknames of school boys and girls. "Many girls in the school and nearly all the boys have nicknames; some have several," said one teacher. "One boy is called Wekufü (devil); another Tuvún (thrush); another Pidel (name of a small bird that lives near water). One of the girls is called Perdiz (partridge)." Children in another school enjoyed telling their own nicknames or embarrassing others by telling theirs. One boy was nicknamed Pelü (the core of a tree) because he was tall and lanky; another, Chuno (name of a bird) because he was a good whistler; another Sunko (from a story in a reader). One boy was called Ojo because he began every sentence, understingly, with "ojo" when he was learning to read; another boy was dubbed Memoria (memory) because he was quick of action; another Diablo (devil) because of his mischievousness. A girl was called Zapatito (small shoe); another, Zorzal (a bird's name; also a crafty person). "Whenever we read about that bird, all the children

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look at me." She was offended at this. A girl named Rosa was nicknamed Mas Cosa by schoolmates because of a story in a reader entitled "La Rosa Mas Cosa"; at home she was called Suspirado de Laureles (sighing of the laurels). Children answer to nicknames.

Adults, too, have nicknames. A man was called Pizarro because he was a domineering person; another was called Miner because he was caught digging for something unknown to the namer. A woman was called The Dancer because she was born while her mother was dancing. Children are thought to be disrespectful when using nicknames of adults when speaking of them. Quoting a teacher: "Recently a child came to me, angry and hurt, and said, 'He talked about my father and used a bad name!' 'No, no, he wouldn't do that,' I replied. 'Yes, he did. He called him Turco' (native of Turkey, his father's nickname; probably an implication of being non-Araucanian)."

Elders often call a girl by the diminutive of either her Araucanian or her Christian name as an expression of affection.

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

In the early days there were both polygynous and monogamous households. Today, with few exceptions, families are monogamous. (Pls. 20; 21, *1*; 22, *1*.)

The family of a cacique and those of his sons and daughters were—and still are—expected to be exemplary ones. Each member is expected to have stamina, self-respect, and courage, and to be helpful and law-abiding. Informants made it a point to say of another that he or she was the son or daughter of a cacique; if the person deserved praise, it was given with satisfaction; if his conduct was not in conformity with the approved pattern, it was mentioned with regret and censure. All families, however, whose members live according to customary social standards and whose economic status is adequate have about them an air of independence and self-respect and are respected by others.

Wealth is measured in ownership of property which must include a ruka, land, oxen, cattle, and sheep. In general, a family owns enough land and animals to supply its needs. No one was found, during the present study, to own an excessive amount of anything—to do so may arouse jealousy. Jealousy is avenged, it is believed, with disaster, brought about through black art. "Any man here [Coñaripe] is rich if he has 50 to 60 sheep and more land than he needs for

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The author of the above summary comes to the conclusion that the legal problem to be dealt with should be one of "reforming" the ancestral communities based on collective ownership rather than their "division" or "liquidation"; that the solution to the question of private initiative in Indian agriculture should be found without damage to the perpetuity of the ancestral community; that this could possibly be achieved by admitting the coexistence of a share in collective ownership and of a small private holding by the same person; that coordination of the fundamental law of an Indian Office with that regulating the activities of the community is desirable. (Lipschütz, 1948, pp. 321-326.) 423 648

Because of the Chilean law regarding inheritance of land, care is now taken, when an Araucanian child's name is recorded in public or permanent records, that the names of parents, too, are recorded. Often, too, today parents insist that records show the father's given name as the child's surname—the father having no surname to give to the child (cf. pp. 40-41). Where no written information is available regarding the child's lineage, as was formerly the case, signatures of persons who know the parentage of a child (now an adult) must be obtained for legal and other documents. Because of this parents often come to the Mission requesting that their names be inserted near their children's in old baptismal records. A 50-year-old woman asked Father Sigifredo, who had known her family for so many years, to sign a Government document testifying to the death of her husband and to the parentage of her 30-year-old son: "My son needs your signature in order to get the land that rightfully belongs to him and that his father wanted him to have." Also the custom of substituting a child's name with a second name during childhood has practically died out; parents have learned that there is less confusion about inheritance if a person is known by only one name during his lifetime. (Cf. pp. 37-38.) [551]

AGRICULTURE AND HORTICULTURE

Informants older than 50 years of age remembered the days when seeds of wild grass were harvested—a time when every family already raised wheat in natural glades. Seeds collected were those of quinoa, yerba vinagrillo, mango, and lanko kachu. An occasional family cultivated quinoa. All these grasses are now nearly extinct. "Maybe you can find lanko on the pampa still; formerly the pampa was overgrown with it. My father-in-law (older than 100 years) told me last evening that when he was young several families would set out to collect quinoa or lanko kachu. Each family took along several pelts of the 222

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last." Usually, however, the child was given the name of a relative, 553
often of a departed grandparent, aunt, or uncle. A son was not infrequently given his deceased father's name.

Either the father announced the child's name or, if he did not, one of the grandmothers did so. "But what really attached the name to the child was the presence of the people who had been invited and who were celebrating the event thereby." Always an abundant meal was served to all present. No prayers were said, and there was probably no ceremony connected specifically with the bestowal of the name. The latter, it seems, was more closely associated with the piercing of the ears (cf. p. 270).

The origin of Araucanian names was not known to informants. 551
"We gave our children the names that already existed; from where these came no one living today knows," said the oldest woman informant. "I called my oldest son Wahlilaqtu; that was the name of my deceased grandfather. But how the name originated, or why my grandfather was so called, I do not know."

Feminine names differed from masculine ones—"just as they do in Spanish"—for the simple reason that they had always been given to women. "No one would think of giving my mother's mother's name, Paine, to a boy, any more than you would think of giving the name Elizabeth to one of your boys."

Some names lent themselves to translation; others did not. Paine had no meaning. Rankuche and Ranul, exclusively feminine names, meant, respectively, "tender person" or "tender people," and a kind of herb. Exclusively masculine names were Llaplaqtu (green stone formerly used for magic purposes), Trongan (spinning-top line), Pahlilin (blue snake), Chemqenqen (ostrich line), and Wahlilaqtu (point of a stone, like the spearhead of a lance).

The given name of a woman was generally not used when speaking of her. She was spoken of as "my mother," "my mother's mother," etc. In some instances, therefore, close relatives did not know a woman's name. A 25-year-old informant did not know the Araucanian name of her mother, who was 65 years old.

SURNAMES, NICKNAMES

Until recent years there were no surnames. "Formerly no one had two names; no one had a family name like they make us use today." Today every child has a surname, and so do all adults, except very old ones. Surnames originated in several ways. The first surnames were probably those given men when they were conscripted into the

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551 Argentine army. "Every man was given a Christian name then, and the officers made him use his Araucanian name as a second name." A child was given the father's "second" name (Araucanian given name) as its surname when its birth was recorded. All adult men were very recently required by Argentine law to obtain from public officials a Libreta Enrolamiento; adult women, a Libreta Civica (cf. p. 357), that is, a permit to vote at federal elections. Anyone who did not have a surname when applying for the permit was given his father's Araucanian name by the government officials issuing the voting permits. (Cf. List of Informants for present-day names.)

Children were not nicknamed; adults were. Anyone could nickname another. A nickname pointed out an unenviable quality possessed by the bearer, and was used only "when we were speaking among ourselves; not everyone knew everybody else's nickname." Examples of nicknames of men, friends of an informant, were: Black Hide, Liar, Black Belly, Bewhiskered Head, Wild Horse (he who was running to other women), Pendejo of Tio (a lazy man). Women, too, were nicknamed. "There were always senseless women. If a woman was a prostitute, she was given a name because she was that way."

THE FAMILY

STATUS IN THE COMMUNITY

554 In general, the family that conformed to established law and order, followed the accepted pattern of behavior, and maintained its economic independence was respected. Families thought of as quite below the accepted norm were those in which one parent was non-Araucanian, or in which a parent habitually drank to intoxication, or in which there was an unmarried mother.

HUSBAND-WIFE RELATIONSHIP, PARENT-CHILD RELATIONSHIP, BROTHER-SISTER RELATIONSHIP

593 The man dominated the family, but his wife and children had a status of importance and individuality within the family. If there was no resistance to the man's expressed authority, the household was usually a well-ordered and peaceful one. "Formerly families were like one; they wanted no disorder; everyone had to do his duty."

595 In general husband and wife lived together in peace and contentment. In cases of polygynous marriages, the wife first married—usually also the oldest one in years—gave orders to the others. She was exempted from such work as cooking and washing; the other

II:Faron E-5 (1952-1954)961 SG4 Araucanians SG4 Mapuche

lineage to which he belongs. The sublineages themselves have their own elders whom they respect and whose leadership they tend to follow, at least in critical times.

In sublineage C there are three brothers who bear the surname[6] of the founder of the maximal lineage, Huenumil. They live in adjacent houses in the southern, most recently cleared part of the reservation and have holdings of about 15 hectares each. Tranaico is allied politically (that is, belongs to the same realignment party) with the chief, and is opposed to division, yet he is not especially friendly to the chief. In intrareservational matters, Tranaico is more closely aligned with the other branch of Alonso's sublineage. His political position is understandable because he has more land at present than most other families and cannot improve his situation through division of the reservation into severally holdings.[7] He might stand to lose some of his land in the apportionment, and he would eventually have to pay taxes on it after the protective features of the reservation system had been dispensed with. The Huenumil brothers comprise the most tightly knit superhousehold group on the reservation. They cooperate in large-scale subsistence activities, take the same position with regard to maintaining the reservation system, and share in a prosperity achieved by few other families in the community. Juan and Ramón are full brothers; Tranaico is the son of the father's first wife. Their father died a few years ago, at which time the land was formally split into three almost equal lots, according to the terms of the inheritance.

The other large sublineage is that of Curihuinca, F on the diagram. The households are not juxtaposed as are those of the other groups just mentioned. The various segments are on good terms, however, but economic cooperation among them is minimal. Bernardo moved into the southwest corner of the reservation when land became scarce in the northwest corner, where his brothers have remained. The Curihuincas, maintaining that they live on "ancestral land" in the northwest corner, feel that they are more closely related to the founding Huenumil than most other families,[8] a belief which is accepted by

[6] The general use of surnames among the Mapuche is a relatively recent development, a borrowing from Chilean-Spanish culture. The absence of this practice several generations ago surely contributes to Mapuche forgetfulness about consanguineal ties with other reservations in the region.

[7] One of the Curihuincas is a ritual priest of the community, a position ideally held by the chief. This indicates that their claim is possibly valid. It is taken seriously by most members of the reservation, in any case. It also correlates with weak chiefdomship, since José, the chief, is not a ritual specialist.

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The husband has little assistance to lend at this time, and may even be told to leave the house during parturition. If there are children present, they will be cleared out of the house. Only if labor is very difficult will the husband be asked to assist, usually by pressing on his wife's abdomen to force the birth. It also happens that an older, more experienced relative might be called upon to do this. In any event, there is a tense atmosphere, especially during a difficult birth. The woman is the focus of attention and the delivery is surrounded by secrecy. The father's interest in both wife and child is heightened. The woman proves herself to the community and both she and her husband evoke feelings of warmth, pride, and self-congratulation. To a large extent these are shared by other residents who visit the mother and view the child during the next few weeks. Gifts are invariably brought, and in being reciprocated establish informal bonds of friendship which might not have existed before the birth of the child.

The husband's major participation is in burying the afterbirth, a traditional obligation. He must scrape up all the residue and the blanket or sheepskin used in the accouchement, disposing of them some distance from the ruka. Methods of disposal vary. Where fear of witchcraft is especially strong, however, disposal is more guarded and elaborately conceived. The husband might take the afterbirth to a deserted and unfrequented spot in the woods, swamp, hilltop, or other out-of-the-way place to bury it along with the bedding and soiled garments. Sometimes the afterbirth is thrown into a stream and the garments washed and reused. Since this duty devolves upon the husband, it is primarily the extent to which he is concerned with witchcraft that seems to determine how the matter is disposed of. In describing their role on these occasions, some men maintain that they have really broken with tradition and no longer fear the machinations of sorcerers, but have to comply with traditional concepts of disposal of the afterbirth so as not to arouse too great anxiety among the more conservative members of their family and kingroup.

Soon after birth the parents name the child without ceremony. Boys ideally receive another name when they are about five years old. This is ceremonially bestowed, in a simple ritual called *lakutun*, since the name is bestowed by the paternal grandfather or someone who stands in his place – that is, another elder of the lineage. The naming ceremony involves a feast and drinking bout to which relatives and friends are invited. The naming day is celebrated annually.